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Mathias Jenny

Thai

Thai (ภาษาไทย *phaasǎa thay*) is the official language of the Kingdom of Thailand. It is the medium of instruction at all levels of state and most private schools and the main language used in the mass media throughout the kingdom. The native speaker population is given at 20 million in the Ethnologue, but Standard Thai, based on the Central Thai dialect spoken in Bangkok, is spoken to at least some degree by all 64 million inhabitants of Thailand. Thai is used in all aspects of daily life, including culture, religion, commerce and entertainment. Apart from a vast native literature, many pieces of world literature, classical as well as popular and scholarly, have been translated into Thai. Thai script is included in standard Windows and Macintosh applications, and most major mobile telephone companies produce localized mobile phones with Thai script and keypad, making Thai the only Southeast Asian language written in non-Roman script to have fully kept pace with the digital era.

Thai has existed in written form since the late 13th or early 14th century,¹ and is the earliest member of the Tai-Kadai language family to be written. Thai is also the largest language of the family in terms of native speakers, followed by Lao or North-Eastern Thai, the only other member Tai-Kadai language family with official status at the national level (ca. 15 million speakers in Laos and north-eastern Thailand), and Zhuang with some 14 million speakers in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in China. Other important languages belonging to the same family are Shan, spoken in northern Myanmar, Black and White Tai in Vietnam and Lue, spoken in the Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan. All these languages belong to the Tai branch of the Tai-Kadai language family. The most westernmost branch of the family includes Aiton and Phake, as well as the now extinct Ahom, known from chronicles and ritual texts, in Assam. The members of the Kadai or Kam-Sui branch are scattered throughout south-eastern

¹ There is some discussion among Thai and Western scholars concerning the authenticity of the first inscription in Thai, viz. the Ramkhamhaeng inscription, traditionally dated to 1292 CE (s. Chamberlain 1991).

China, Hainan, and North Vietnam and are spoken by minority groups in these regions. For a detailed overview of the family see Diller (2008).

The position of the Tai-Kadai languages relative to other language families is unclear. While the family was traditionally seen as a member of the Sinitic branch of the Sino-Tibetan family, more recently an alignment with Austronesian languages has been favored especially by Western scholars (see Benedict 1975). The many correspondences between Tai-Kadai and Sinitic in lexicon and phonology have been explained as being contact-induced rather than inherited from a common parent language.

Throughout its documented history Thai has been profoundly influenced by the classical languages of Indian culture, namely Sanskrit and Pali, as well as by Khmer, formerly the politically dominant language in central Mainland Southeast Asia. From the 14th century C.E., the royal court of Ayudhya saw itself as heir to the declining Khmer kingdom of Angkor Wat, and so most of the royal vocabulary (see section 3.1.3) in present day Thai is derived from Khmer. Less obvious, but none the less present, are loans from Mon. Words of Chinese origin can be found in all areas of the lexicon, bearing witness to a long history of linguistic and cultural contact. Loans from ethnic minority languages spoken in the hills of northern and north-eastern Thailand are mostly restricted to terms for local flora and fauna and some special cultural items and practices. Similarly, Thai has borrowed only few words in current use from Malay, spoken to the south of Thailand. Javanese and Indonesian words are found especially in the literary style, introduced by translations of famous Javanese and Indonesian works, such as the story of Inao. Neologisms used to be created based on Pali and Sanskrit words, but more recently English loans have played a major part in creating new vocabulary, especially in the field of modern technology. The vocabulary of modern Thai presents itself as a mixture of many different elements, all well integrated and adapted to Thai phonology.

In the second half of the 19th century, Thai underwent a process of standardization, which to some degree also meant Westernization, initiated mainly by King Rama IV, a scholar educated in western languages like English and Latin (Diller 1993). The resulting formal style (Diller's H for "high") shows some important differences from the colloquial language (Diller's L for "low"). A set of rules similar to Western models was promulgated, with the intention of making Thai syntax less ambiguous. Differences in pronunciation are seen mainly in the merger of /r/ and /l/ and the simplification of clusters in colloquial Thai, but not in the formal register. Differences in vocabulary are seen as different degrees of politeness, rather than different registers, although there is some overlap between the two.

1 Phonology

Thai is written in an Indian type script, which was developed in the 13th or 14th century based on a Khmer model. The major innovation in Thai script was the introduction of tone markers, the use of which, however, became consistent only a few centuries later. With forty four consonants and a large number of vowel signs and combinations thereof, the Thai script represents the phonology of the language rather well, although some ambiguities remain. The present Thai phonological system is the outcome of a series of changes that occurred during the development from Old Thai (Sukhothai, from the 13th century) to Modern Thai. At some point, probably after the 10th century,² voiced stops and fricatives became voiceless in many other languages across a vast area of China and Mainland Southeast Asia. This devoicing resulted in changes in vowels in some languages, in distinctive phonation types (registers) in others, and in the reorganization of the tone systems in languages that possessed them, like Thai and other Tai languages. The reorganization of tone systems was called “the great tone split” by Brown (1985: 18ff).

Canonically, as part of these trends, voiced stops became unvoiced aspirated stops (as in Table 1), while voiced fricatives became unvoiced. The original voiced stops thus merged with the unvoiced-aspirated stops, often giving rise to phonemic tonal distinctions. It is possible that even before the split, tones came in allophonic variants according to the initial consonant. With the voicing distinctions lost, tones became the only distinctive feature for many otherwise identical syllables. Thai orthography did not change substantially after the devoicing and tone split, such that the marking of tones today is not transparent, as the same tone marker marks different tones according to the initial consonant. The examples below illustrate the development of Thai phonology.³

Table 1: Sound changes

Sukhothai	Orthography	Modern Thai	Gloss
<i>gwāy</i>	<i>gwāy</i>	<i>khwaay</i>	water buffalo
<i>ba khun phā mwəñ</i>	<i>b̥ khun phā mwəñ</i>	<i>phǎw khǔn phǎa mwəŋ</i>	name of ruler of Sukhothai
<i>phū</i>	<i>phū</i>	<i>phūu</i>	person
<i>mlāñ</i>	<i>lāñ</i>	<i>lāaŋ</i>	clean, wash
<i>bā</i>	<i>b̥</i>	<i>phǎw</i>	father

2 The exact date and the origin of the devoicing are subject of dispute among linguists. It is likely that the change happened at different times in different languages.
3 Sukhothai examples are taken from the Wat Si Chum inscription, ca. 1360 CE.

1.1 Segmental phonemes

The Thai language uses 21 consonantal phonemes in initial position, with a restricted set of consonants occurring in syllable final position.

Initial consonants: *k, kh, ŋ, c, ch, d, t, th, n, b, p, ph, f, m, y, r, l, w, s, h, ʔ*
Final consonants: *k, t, p, ŋ, n, m, y, w, ʔ*

The aspirated velar stop /kh/ is variously pronounced as [k^h] or [kx], depending on the phonetic environment as well as on the speaker's dialect. The implosives [ɗ] and [ɓ] found in an earlier stage of the language are now usually pronounced as fully voiced stops in standard Thai and in most (urban) dialects of central and southern Thailand. The pronunciation of /c/ and /ch/ varies among speakers and dialects between palatal stops [c/c^h] and affricates [tʃ/tʃ^h]. The pronunciation of /r/ is in formal Thai, and the language taught in school, a flap [ɾ], but for most speakers it merges with /l/ as [l]. The southern dialects are more conservative in retaining [ɾ] as a flap, while in the northern and north-eastern dialects (Lanna, Lao), /r/ is realized as [h]. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is always pronounced as such, both in initial and final position. Final /y/ and /w/ are analyzed as forming a diphthong together with the preceding vowel by some authors, but are usually analysed as a final approximant consonant in phonological accounts..

Final consonants, both sonorants and stops, are unreleased in all cases.

The vowel inventory of Thai is rather rich with high, mid and low vowels, occurring both as front and back, rounded and unrounded varieties. Vowel length is synchronically distinctive for almost all vowels, although historically the length distinction was relevant probably only for /a/ vs. /aa/.

Table 2: Vowels

i ii			ɯ ɯɯ	u uu
e ee			ɤ ɤɤ	o oo
ɛ ɛɛ				ɔ ɔɔ
		ə ⁴		
		a aa		

There are three diphthongs in Thai, all starting with a high vowel and falling towards /ə/: /iə/, /uə/, /uə/. The first part of the diphthong is somewhat long, i.e.

4 The schwa sound in Thai is rather low, close to [ɐ].

longer than a phonologically short vowel but not quite as long as a long ones. As mentioned above, some authors describe final glides as parts of diphthongs, i.e. /ay/ as /ai/, /aw/ as /au/, etc. This analysis results in two types of diphthongs, namely one group that can take a final consonant (the diphthongs ending in /ə/) and another that cannot (the diphthongs ending in /i/ and /u/).

1.2 Suprasegmental phonology

Stress in Thai is predictable and falls on the last syllable of polysyllabic words. It is phonemic inasmuch as it may distinguish polymorphemic words (with one main stress) from phrases (with more than one stress), as in

'náam 'yen 'the water is cold' vs. *nám*-'yen 'cold water'.

This example also shows the typical shortening of the pretonic syllable in polysyllabic expressions, i.e. *náam* is shortened to *nám*.

Apart from stress, the main suprasegmental feature of Thai is the tone system comprising five tones. Basically each syllable receives a tone, with the exception of pretonic weak syllables (presyllables, see section 1.3). The five tones are, in the traditional Thai order:

Table 3: Descriptive names and conventional transcription of Thai tones

mid level	(<i>sǐəŋ sǎaman</i> 'normal tone')	no marker:	a
low level	(<i>sǐəŋ ʔèek</i> 'first tone')	grave:	à
falling	(<i>sǐəŋ thoɔ</i> 'second tone')	circumflex:	â
high level	(<i>sǐəŋ trii</i> 'third tone')	acute:	á
rising	(<i>sǐəŋ càttəwaa</i> 'fourth tone')	inverted circumflex (háček):	ǎ

There is hardly any mutual influence between the tones of neighboring syllables (tone sandhi) in Thai. In a few instances the second of two consecutive falling tones becomes low falling instead of high falling, but this phenomenon appears to be restricted to some fixed expressions like *khòɔp khun mâak khâ?* 'thank you very much', where *mâak* 'much' is high falling and the female politeness particle *khâ?* is low falling.

Tones in Thai are characterized by glottal features as well as pitch and contour. The high level tone ends in a glottal constriction, while the mid level, low level and falling tones are more lax. The rising tone very often shows glottalization in the initial phase.

1.3 Syllable structure

The syllable in Thai is confined by restrictions both on the onset and coda. Counting the glottal stop /ʔ/ as a consonant, each syllable consists of at least an initial consonant and a rhyme. The rhyme consists of two morae, and may comprise either a long vowel (including diphthongs) or a short vowel and a final consonant.

A restricted set of consonant clusters are possible in the onset of the syllable. They invariably involve a voiceless stop (plain or aspirated) and a liquid (r, l or w). Not all combinations are permitted, though. There is /tr/ and /thr/, but not /tl/ or /thl/. The bilabial glide /w/ combines only with the velars /k/ and /kh/. In foreign loans, mostly from English, combinations like /br/, /fr/ or /fl/ occur, though they are usually reduced to [b] and [f] respectively in colloquial speech. Consonant clusters in native Thai words undergo simplification to various degrees in normal speech. Velar plus /r/l/ combinations are mostly pronounced as simple velar stop, while especially in Bangkok and its surroundings velar stop + w becomes [f]. The rare combination /tr/ is often pronounced like /k/, while /thr/ becomes [th].⁵

In the coda, only one of a restricted set of consonants /k, t, p, ɲ, n, m, ɣ w, ʔ/ is possible, and no final consonant clusters are permitted. Other consonants may appear in the coda in Thai orthography, in many cases also more than one, but the pronunciation is always one of the codas permitted in Thai words. Thus a word written with final <-s> is pronounced with [-t], as are words orthographically ending in palatal stops. There is thus no one-to-one correspondence between the written final and the pronunciation. Syllables ending in a stop (unreleased) are called ‘dead words’ (*kham taay*) in Thai. They occur with a restricted set of tones, viz. low, falling or high. The mid level and the rising tone are excluded from dead syllables, while ‘live words’ (*kham pen*) can carry any of the five tones.

As in many other languages of Southeast Asia, there are in Thai words consisting of a weak presyllable followed by a main syllable, i.e. sesquisyllabic words. These are mostly loans from foreign languages, but a few can be traced back to Proto-Tai. The pre-syllable is either the result of a weakened element in a compound or of vocalic epenthesis in non-permitted initial clusters. Presyllables consist of a simple consonant or consonant cluster in the onset, and are pronounced with /ə/. The pre-syllable can receive full syllable stress, including vowel, coda and tone, in very careful formal speech, but it is usually pro-

5 In some words, the orthographic combination <thr> is pronounced as [s].

nounced with a schwa and is not phonologically tone-bearing. In Thai orthography, pre-syllables are sometimes written with the visarga ะ <ḥ>, which stands for the short vowel *a* with following glottal stop, sometimes with no overt vowel:

Table 4: minor syllables

Thai	Transliteration	Usual (careful) Pronunciation	Gloss
สบาย	<sbāy>	<i>səbaay (sāʔbaay)</i>	comfortable
สนุก	<snuk>	<i>sənùk (sāʔnùk)</i>	have fun
มะพร้าว	<maḥbráw>	<i>məphráaw (máʔphráaw)</i>	coconut
ประตู	<praḥtū>	<i>prətuu (pràʔtuu)</i>	door

The following syllable types thus occur in Thai (C = consonant, V = short simple vowel, VV = long vowel or diphthong, ^T = tone):⁶

CVC ^T	CəCVC ^T	CCəCVC ^T
CCVC ^T	CəCCVC ^T	CCəCCVC ^T
CVV ^T	CəCVV ^T	CCəCVV ^T
CVVC ^T	CəCVVC ^T	CCəCVVC ^T
CCVVC ^T	CəCCVVC ^T	CCəCCVVC ^T

2 Word structure

Indigenous Thai words are typically monomorphemic, i.e. not analyzable as consisting of different morphemes. In other words, Thai does not show anything like productive morphological processes in its indigenous vocabulary. Derivational morphology has entered the Thai language mostly from Khmer. Originally restricted to Khmer loans, some morphological processes have become independent and productive at some stage of Thai. This is true especially for the infix /-am-, -amn-/, which can be added to indigenous Thai roots or to roots which in Khmer do not take the infix. One example of a non-Khmer word taking the Khmer derivational infix is the pair *sǎŋ* ‘sound, voice’ – *sǎmniəŋ* ‘accent, pronunciation’. The base word *sǎŋ* itself may be an early loan from Chinese, cognate with Mandarin *shēng* ‘sound, voice’ (Schuessler 2007: 460). The Thai derivation may have been indirectly influenced by the Khmer word *səmle:ŋ* ‘sound’. Apart from the Khmer derivational affixes, which obviously gained some degree

⁶ For restrictions on medial and final consonants see above.

of productivity at some point, there are a few frozen examples of Austroasiatic-type affixes, especially the widespread causative prefix /p-/. Examples which seem to illustrate this very old process are *lon* ‘move down’ – *plon* ‘let down, abandon’ and *lɔy* ‘float’ – *plɔy* ‘let go’, the latter with a change in tone. If these examples are valid, they may be evidence of a very early period of Tai-Austroasiatic contact.

2.1 Derivation or compounding?

A few very productive morphemes in modern Thai can be seen as derivational prefixes, although an alternative analysis as lexical compounding is more appropriate for less productive morphemes.. There are a handful of nominalizing prefixes, viz. *kaan*, *khwaam* and *kham*, as illustrated in (1).

(1)	เรียน	<i>riən</i>	‘learn’	การเรียนรู้	<i>kaan-riən</i>	‘learning’
	รู้	<i>rúu</i>	‘know’	ความรู้	<i>khwaam-rúu</i>	‘knowledge’
	ถาม	<i>thǎam</i>	‘ask’	คำถาม	<i>kham-thǎam</i>	‘question’

The word *kaan* (from Pali *kāra* ‘act’) turns an activity verb into a *nomen actionis*, focusing on the activity or process described by the base verb. As a lexical item, *khwaam* means ‘(abstract) matter, thing, affair, state of affairs’ and is rarely used on its own. It forms verbal nouns focusing on the state of affairs or characteristics expressed by the base verb rather than on an ongoing process. The word *kham* means ‘a mouthful, word’ and is used to form nouns from *verba dicendi* (speak, ask, beg, etc.).

The prefix *nâa*-, from the modal verb *nâa* ‘ought, should, would be good to’ forms derived verbs from verbal bases with what might be called ‘passive-modal’ meaning:

(2)	กิน	<i>kin</i>	‘eat’	น่ากิน	<i>nâa-kin</i>	‘appetizing’
	รัก	<i>rák</i>	‘love’	น่ารัก	<i>nâa-rák</i>	‘lovely’
	เกลียด	<i>klîət</i>	‘hate’	น่าเกลียด	<i>nâa-klîət</i>	‘disgusting’

As with the nominalizers above, an analysis as compound or phrasal construction is possible as well, and might be preferable historically, although synchronically *nâa*- behaves like a real derivational prefix. It is easy to demonstrate, though, how a sentence like the following can be reanalyzed, giving rise to *nâa*- as prefix.

- (3) a. ลูกหมาตัวนี้(เรา)น่ารัก
lûuk mǎa tuə níi (raw) nâa rák.
 offspring dog CLF PROX (1PL) ought love
 ‘This puppy, we should love.’
- b. ลูกหมาตัวนี้(*เรา)น่ารักมาก
*lûuk mǎa tuə níi (*raw) nâa.rák mâak.*
 offspring dog CLF PROX (*1PL) lovely much
 ‘This puppy is very lovely.’

While the phrase ‘this puppy’ in (3a) is a topical object NP, it is reanalyzed as subject in (3b). This is shown by the impossibility to add another subject NP in (3b) and the scope of the adverbial V2 *mâak* ‘be much’ over *nâa.rák*, not only *rák*.

Another grammaticalized derivational prefix is *khîi*-, from the verb/noun *khîi* ‘defecate; excrement, unusable left-over’. It is used to form verbs from active verbal bases, expressing that the subject performs the activity described by the base verb in excess, always with a negative connotation. Although the lexical noun/verb *khîi* is considered taboo and avoided in polite speech, it is commonly used (without taboo) in compounds and as verbal prefix. The expressions in (4) illustrate the use of this productive prefix:

- (4) เล่น *lên* ‘play’ ขี้เล่น *khîi-lên* ‘playful, unserious’
 เหนียว *niǎw* ‘sticky’ ขี้เหนียว *khîi-niǎw* ‘stingy’
 คุย *khuy* ‘chat’ ขี้คุย *khîi-khuy* ‘(given to) brag’

Other nominal and verbal compounds will be treated in the next section and in section 4.2.

2.2 “Psycho-collocations” and generic/ logical V-O expressions

Like other languages of Southeast Asia, Thai makes vast use of what Matisoff calls “psycho-collocations” (Matisoff 1986). Psycho-collocations are conventionalized compounds involving a noun expressing the physical seat or centre of mental or emotional processes and states and a stative verb describing the process or state. The most common noun used in this type of compound in Thai is *cay* ‘heart’⁷. In

⁷ The same etymon is found as a psycho-noun in other Southeast languages such as Burmese or Khmer. See Vittrant (2014: 269–70)

รู้ใจ	<i>rúu-cay</i>	‘understand s.o.’s feelings’ (‘know-heart’)
เข้าใจ	<i>khâw-cay</i>	‘understand’ (‘enter-heart’)
ไว้ใจ	<i>wáy-cay</i>	‘trust s.o.’ (‘keep-heart’)

In most of these expressions involving *cay* ‘heart’, the meaning is idiomatic and not predictable from the component parts of the compound.

Another type of conventional phrasal expression involves a transitive verb and a generic object which occurs naturally with the verb. Many transitive verbs *require* a generic object, if no referential object is present, either overtly or understood from the linguistic or extra-linguistic context. The choice of generic object is conventionalized in Thai, and always denotes a referent that is typically associated with the activity expressed by the verb. In a few cases the generic object contributes a semantic component to the verb, as in the case of *kin-khâaw* ‘eat’ (‘consume rice’) vs. *kin-nâam* ‘drink’ (‘consume water’), where the generic object specifies the meaning of *kin* ‘consume’. In (8), the generic object *phleen* ‘song’ logically occurs with the verb *róv* ‘sing’.⁸ The generic object is usually expressed only once in a given paragraph or conversational exchange. After its first mention, it is considered present in the context and is therefore dropped. The following examples illustrate the generic V-O collocations.

(8) กินข้าว	<i>kin-khâaw</i>	‘eat’ (‘consume-rice’)
กินน้ำ	<i>kin-nâam</i>	‘drink’ (‘consume-liquid’)
ซื้อของ	<i>suúu-khǎw</i>	‘shop’ (‘buy-thing’)
อ่านหนังสือ	<i>ʔàan-nǎngsuúu</i>	‘read’ (‘read-book’)
เขียนหนังสือ	<i>khǎn-nǎngsuúu</i>	‘write’ (‘write-book’)
เรียนหนังสือ	<i>riən-nǎngsuúu</i>	‘study’ (‘learn-book’)
ร้องเพลง	<i>róv-phleen</i>	‘sing’ (‘sing-song’)
ทอผ้า	<i>thwá-phâa</i>	‘weave’ (‘weave-cloth’)
ซักผ้า	<i>sák-phâa</i>	‘wash’ (‘wash-cloth’)

The generic object has no semantic content and merely serves as “dummy” object, as can be seen in the following short conversation.

(9) A: ไปกินข้าวไหม	B: ป่ะ ไปกินอะไรดี
<i>pay kin khâaw mǎy?</i>	<i>páʔ, pay kin ʔəray dii?</i>
go eat rice Q	ADH go eat what good
‘Shall we go to eat?’	‘Let’s go. What shall we eat?’

⁸ The verb *róv* also has an intransitive sense, meaning ‘shout, cry’. The object *phleen* therefore also has disambiguating function here.

A: กินก๋วยเตี๋ยวดีไหม	B: ดี
<i>kin kǎy-tǎw dii mǎy?</i>	<i>dii.</i>
eat noodles good Q	good
‘Should we go to eat noodles?’	‘OK.’

In some cases, a generic ‘object’ is used with a usually intransitive verb, as in *dxyn-thaən* ‘travel’ (‘walk-way’). Again, as seen above in the example ‘study’, the relation between the verb and the noun is not necessarily one of object/patient, but rather a logical semantic connection. A similar phenomenon is the collocation of a verb expressing a mental or physical state and the body part affected by the state or some entity connected to the state:

(10) a.	ปวด	<i>pùət</i>	‘ache’
	ปวดหัว	<i>pùət-hǔə</i>	‘have a headache’ (‘ache-head’)
	ปวดฟัน	<i>pùət-fan</i>	‘have a toothache’ (‘ache-tooth’)
	ปวดท้อง	<i>pùət-thǔwŋ</i>	‘have a stomach ache’ (‘ache-stomach’)
b.	คัน	<i>khan</i>	‘itch’
	คันหัว	<i>khan-hǔə</i>	‘have an itchy head’ (‘itch-head’)
	คันมือ	<i>khan-muu</i>	‘have itchy hands’ (‘itch-hand’)
	คันหลัง	<i>khan-lǎŋ</i>	‘have an itchy back’ (‘itch-back’)
c.	สบาย	<i>səbaay</i>	‘be comfortable’
	สบายใจ	<i>səbaay-cay</i>	‘feel comfortable’ (‘comfortable-heart’)
	สบายเท้า	<i>səbaay-thǎaw</i>	‘comfortable to wear (shoes)’ (‘comfortable-foot’)
	สบายตัว	<i>səbaay-tuə</i>	‘feel comfortable all over’ (‘comfortable-body’)
d.	เก่ง	<i>kəŋ</i>	‘skilled’
	เก่งเลข	<i>kəŋ-léek</i>	‘good at mathematics’ (‘skilled-number’)
	เก่งอังกฤษ	<i>kəŋ-ʔaŋkrít</i>	‘good at English’ (‘skilled-English’)
	เก่งบอล	<i>kəŋ-bɔwŋ</i>	‘good at soccer’ (‘skilled-ball’)

2.3 Expressions, ideophones and euphonic compounds

“Elaborate expressions” are extensions of mostly conventionalized phrases generally involving a verb and an object. Being used very frequently in literary

and poetic style, elaborate expressions also find their way into the colloquial language. The extent to which these expressions are used in everyday language is very much a matter of the individual style of a speaker. Elaborate expressions can be formed according to a variety of patterns. In colloquial Thai they are productive to some degree. Elaborate expressions typically consist of four syllables, two of which either share the initial consonant or the rhyme (nucleus and coda). Another possibility is that one word, usually the verb, is repeated with different but semantically related objects. Very often the objects occur as euphonic compounds in other contexts. The quadrisyllabic elaborate expressions can be lexical compounds, nominal or verbal, or phrases. In many cases the word added to the base expression does not have meaning on its own and merely has euphonic function (11a). In other cases the word added is part of a common compound (11b), while in still other cases the word added does have a meaning, but its connection to the normal object is merely phonetic, as in (11c). The following examples illustrate some common elaborate expressions.

- (11) a. สนุกสนาน
sənuḱ-sənáan 'have fun' ('have.fun-EUPH')
 วิซ่าวิซ่า
wiisám-wiisâa 'visa' ('EUPH-visa')
 เสียตมเสียตม
sǎədum-sǎədaay 'regret' ('EUPH-regret')
- b. สะดวกสบาย
sədùək-səbaay 'convenient' ('convenient-comfortable')
 อาบน้ำอาบท่ำ
?àap-náam-?àap-thâa 'take a shower' ('bathe-water-bathe-jetty')
 กินข้าวกินปลา
kin-khâaw-kin-plaa 'eat' ('consume-rice-consume-fish')
 ล้างหน้าล้างตา
láaŋ-nâa-láaŋ-taa 'wash one's face' ('wash-face-wash-eye')
 กลับบ้านกลับช่อง
klàp-bâan-klàp-chwŋ 'go home' ('return-house-return-channel')
- c. ยกไม้ยกมือ
yók-máay-yók-muuu 'raise one's hands' ('lift-wood-lift-hand')

Some elaborate expressions have idiomatic status, as example (12) shows.

(12) ข้าวยากหมากแพง

khâaw-yâak-màak-phɛɛŋ ‘bad days’ (‘rice-difficult-betel-expensive’)

Ideophones are words that imitate a sound or describe a sensation. They are used in Thai not only in literary style, but also in everyday speech. As with the elaborate expressions, the usage of ideophones is a question of personal speech style and register. Ideophones are usually bisyllabic lexemes, formally made up of a base syllable and its reduplication, sometimes with a change in one or more vowel or consonant. Syntactically ideophones usually function as adverbials, but some predicative verbs look rather like ideophones and can be seen as the result of lexicalization, as seen in (14).

(13) หัวใจเต้นตบๆ

hǔ̌əcay tɛ̌n tɔ̌p-tɔ̌p ‘The heart is beating *tup-tup*.’ (‘heart dance *tup-tup*’)

ปวดหัวตบๆ

pùət-hǔ̌ə tɔ̌p-tɔ̌p ‘Have a pulsating headache.’ (‘ache-head *tup-tup*’)

คันหยิกๆ

khan yík-yík ‘itch a little bit’ (‘itch *yik-yik*’)

มืดตื๋ตื๋อ

mú̌ut tuít-tuú̌u ‘pitch dark’ (‘dark *tuut-tuuu*’)⁹

(14) จุ้นจ้าน

cûn-câan

‘meddle’

จู้จี้

cûu-cîi

‘fussy, meticulous’

โผงผาง

phǒŋ-phǎŋ

‘outspoken, tactless’

Euphonic compounds are another means of adding poetic flavour to the Thai language, both written and spoken. In euphonic compounds, an empty or semantically unrelated morpheme is added to a base lexeme. The choice of the added word is conventionalized: usually it shares the onset or the rhyme with the base word, or it is the reduplication thereof with a change in vowel. These vowel changes show some regularity in that there are fixed pairs of vowels occurring together in euphonic compounds, e.g. *u-i*, *o-e*, *ɔ-ɛ*, *a-ɤ*, *uə-iə*. Either the first or the second syllable of a euphonic compound can be the bearer of the semantics, as illustrated in (15). The difference between the expressions in (14) and the euphonic compounds in (15) is that the component parts of the former cannot occur alone, whereas one part of the compounds in (15) occurs as a free

⁹ The quasi-ideophonic expression *tuít-tuú̌u* is one of a number of lexeme-specific reinforcing elements, i.e. intensifiers that occur with only a very limited number of base lexemes. Other examples are *khâaw-cú̌ə* ‘snow white’, *dɛ̌ŋ-kâm* ‘intense red’, *rɔ̌n-cîi* ‘burning hot’.

lexeme. The dividing line is not clear, though, as euphonic compounds tend to become conventionalized, which may result in the components losing their independence.

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| (15) ขุบขิบ | <i>súp-síp</i> | ‘gossip’ (‘EUPH-whisper’) |
| โซเซ | <i>soo-see</i> | ‘stagger’ (‘EUPH-stagger’) |
| มอมแมม | <i>mɔɔm-mɛɛm</i> | ‘dirty’ (‘make dirty-EUPH’) |

Sometimes the added word is semantically related to the base word, or the joined words together make up a new meaning. In this case, too, the phonetic similarity is important, i.e. the members of the compound are at least partially chosen for their phonetic shape.

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| (16) เรียบร้อย | <i>rîap-rɔ́y</i> | ‘tidy, orderly’ (‘even-hundred’) |
| เคร่งเครียด | <i>khrěŋ-khrîət</i> | ‘serious’ (‘strict-tense’) |
| ราบรื่น | <i>râap-rûun</i> | ‘smooth, easy’ (‘flat-joyful’) |
| รู้เรื่อง | <i>rûu-rûəŋ</i> | ‘be informed’ (‘know-story’) |
| ข้าวของ | <i>khâaw-khɔ́wŋ</i> | ‘belongings’ (‘rice-thing’) |

2.4 Reduplication

Reduplication in Thai (indicated in Thai script by the doubling sign ๑) is frequent and serves various functions, depending on the syntactic class and the semantics of the repeated word. Reduplication of nouns with human referents is sometimes used to indicate a group of individuals, though this use is rather restricted. Thus *dèk-dèk* (from *dèk* ‘child’) means ‘children’, *phûi-phûi-nɔ́wŋ-nɔ́wŋ* is ‘brothers and sisters’. In a few cases the repetition of a measure word leads to an iterative reading, e.g. *wan-wan* ‘day after day’ from *wan* ‘day’. Much more widespread is the use of reduplicated verbs, especially stative verbs. The meaning can be attributive or adverbial, either reinforcing or attenuating. Reduplicated verbs can be used both predicatively and attributively. Reduplication of stative verbs with the tone pattern [high tone-original tone] (e.g. *dîi-dîi* ‘so good!’, *ɔ̀əwɔ́y-ɔ̀əwɔ́y* ‘so delicious!’) has an affective reinforcing function and is used almost exclusively by female speakers.

- (17) ที่บ้านเขามีหมาตัวใหญ่ สองตัว
thîi bāan khǎw mii mǎa tuə yà-yà sǎwŋ tuə.
 LOC house 3HUM exist dog CLF big-RDPL two CLF
 ‘There are two rather big dogs at his house.’

- (18) ถ้าออกต่างจังหวัด ขับรถดีๆ นะ

thâa ʔwɔk tɔ̀aŋ caŋwàt khàp rôt dii-dii náʔ.
 if exit different province drive car good-RED EMPH
 ‘If you go to the provinces, drive carefully, won't you?’

Reduplication of quantifiers leads to a reinforcement of the quantifier, putting emphasis on the quantity expressed.

- (19) เขามาขายขนมหน้าบ้านทุกๆ วัน

khǎw maa khǎay khənǎm nâa bâan thúk-thúk wan.
 3HUM come sell sweets face house every-RED day
 ‘He comes selling sweets in front of the house every single day.’

- (20) รถคันนี้แพงมากๆ

rót khan níi phɛɛŋ mâak-mâak.
 car CLF this expensive very-RED
 ‘This car is really very expensive.’

3 Syntactic structure

3.1 Nominal phrase

The nominal phrase in Thai can consist of either a simple or compound noun or pronoun, or it can exhibit a more complex structure, made up of various components, including modifiers such as relative clauses, determiners, numerals and quantifiers, and classifiers. Each of these categories will be described separately in the following sections. Noun phrases can be complements of verbs or prepositions, two categories that are not always clearly separable in Thai, as will be shown in section 3.1.5.

The maximal complexity of a noun phrase is illustrated in (21).

- (21) ลูก หมา น้อย น่ารักๆ สอง ตัว ที่ ซื้อมา นั้น
lûuk mǎa nɔ̀y nâa.rák- nâa.rák sɔ̀wŋ tuə thîi suuŋ maa nán
 offspring dog small lovely-RED two CLF REL buy COME MEDL
 head |MDF |MDF |MDF |QUANT |MDF |DET
 ‘Those two little lovely puppies that I have bought.’

3.1.1 Classifiers

Thai makes extensive use of nominal classifiers, not only in connection with numeral expressions, but also in other contexts where individuation of a referent is required. This includes the collocation of a noun with a modifier, quantifier, or a determiner. Classifiers can also be used to express anaphoric reference without a head noun, but always in combination with a modifier, quantifier or determiner. The choice of classifier with a specific head noun is highly conventionalized and (at least in theory) based on semantic or functional similarities, although there are a few rather idiosyncratic cases. A number of classifiers and their usage are set out in Table 5 below. Spoons and forks, for example, use the classifier *khan*, which is also used for umbrellas and land vehicles (but not ox-carts), while knives, not part of the traditional Thai cutlery, use *lêm*, which they share with books, candles, ox carts and needles. Most animals (and pieces of clothing, letters of the alphabet, among some other inanimate things) occur with the classifier *tuə*, literally ‘body’, but elephants use *chuiək*, literally ‘rope’. While some classifiers cover a wide range of nouns, like *ʔan*, which is used for non-classified, smallish objects, others are very specific, being applicable to only to a few nouns, like *puŋun*, which occurs only with saws. Human referents receive different classifiers according to social status, *tuə* being derogatory, *khon* neutral, *thân* polite/respectful, *ʔon* and *phraʔ.ʔon* for different levels of royalty and *rûup*, literally ‘image’, for monks. The correct choice of classifier is fixed in the standard language and is a subject of learning up to high school level.

Table 5: Some Thai classifiers and their usage

	Classifier form	Used with nouns meaning:
คัน	<i>khan</i>	Spoons, forks, umbrellas, land vehicles (except ox carts)
เล่ม	<i>lêm</i>	knives, books, candles, ox carts, needles
ตัว	<i>tuə</i>	animals, pieces of clothing, letters of the alphabet, inanimate things, human (derogatory)
เชือก	<i>chuiək</i>	elephant
อัน	<i>ʔan</i>	small objects
ป็น	<i>puŋun</i>	saws
คน	<i>khon</i>	human (neutral)
ท่าน	<i>thân</i>	human (polite)
องค์	<i>ʔon</i> ,	human (royal persons)
พระองค์	<i>(phraʔ.ʔon)</i>	

The word order in nominal phrases including a classifier is always as in (22)

head – numeral – classifier – determiner

- (22) a. บ้านสองหลังนี้
bāan sǔwɯŋ lǎŋ nīi
 house two CLF this
 ‘these two houses’

- b. เพื่อนกี่คน
phūəŋ kīi khon
 friend how.many CLF
 ‘how many friends’

Nouns expressing measurements of time, space, or volume do not require a classifier and can be combined directly with modifying elements.

- (23) a. จะอยู่ที่นี้หลายวัน
càʔ ynu thīi nīi lǎay wan.
 PROS stay LOC PROX many day
 ‘I will stay here many days.’

- b. เขาวิ่งไปสี่ร้อยเมตร
khǎw wɨŋ pay sīi rǔay méet.
 3HUM run GO four hundred meter
 ‘He ran four hundred meters.’

Some nouns can function as measure words in one context and as objects with their own classifiers in others, as seen in (24).

- (24) a. น้ำหนึ่งแก้ว b. แก้วหนึ่งใบ
náam nuŋ kĕɛw kĕɛw nuŋ bay
 water one glass glass one CLF
 ‘one glass of water’ ‘one glass’

3.1.2 Determiners

Determiners in Thai comprise demonstratives and interrogatives, the latter also used as indefinites. Determiners usually occur after a classifier, but are sometimes directly attached to a head noun.

- (25) a. บ้าน(หลัง)นั้น b. ครู(คน)ไหน
 bâan (*lǎŋ*) *nán* *khruu* (*khon*) *nǎy*
 house (CLF) MEDL teacher (CLF) which
 ‘that house’ ‘which teacher’

The demonstratives in Thai indicate three levels of distance from the *origo*, viz. *nǐi* ‘this, PROXIMAL’, *nán* ‘that, MEDIAL’, and *nóon* ‘that, DISTAL’. The distance expressed is not only spatial, but also temporal and emotional. While EGO (the speaker) and NUNC (the time of speaking) are the prototypical *origo*, the medial demonstrative can co-occur with first person pronouns to indicate emotional distance from one self or one’s behavior at a certain time. Similarly, the proximal demonstrative *nǐi* can occur with second or, more rarely, third person pronouns to express special emotional closeness to the referent. The proximal and medial demonstratives can be combined, either as *nǐi-nán* PROX-MEDL or as *nán-nán* MEDL-MEDL, with the final *nán* expressing anaphoric topicality of the referent.

The interrogative determiners are *nǎy* or *day* ‘which’¹⁰ and *ʔaray* ‘what (kind of)’. As *ʔaray* is originally a compound of the general inanimate classifier *ʔan* and an obsolete form *ray* of the interrogative determiner, it does not usually occur with classifiers but is attached directly to the head noun. Notice the difference between *rót khan nǎy* ‘which car’ and *rót ʔaray* ‘what kind of car’. In negative and interrogative contexts, the interrogative determiners receive indefinite reading.

The combination of a classifier and postponed (unstressed) numeral *nuɯŋ* (or *nuuŋ*) ‘one’ functions like an indefinite article. Compare the expressions in (26a) and (26b) below.

- (26) a. บ้านหนึ่งหลัง b. บ้านหลังหนึ่ง
 bâan *nuɯŋ* *lǎŋ* *bâan* *lǎŋ* *nuɯŋ*
 house one CLF house CLF one
 ‘one house’ ‘a house’

¹⁰ Of the two forms, *day* is used only in literary style.

Nouns in Thai are underspecified as to number, i.e. *rót* can be ‘a/the car’ or ‘(the) cars’. The use of a determiner has a strong singularizing effect, so that *rót khan nīi* can only be understood as ‘this car’, not ‘these cars’ (see section 4.1.3 for more details on number).

3.1.3 Number and quantifiers

As stated above (section 2), number is not necessarily expressed in Thai. If the number of referents of a noun phrase is recoverable from the context or not relevant to the current discourse, it is left unmarked. There are, however, various possibilities for expressing plurality of nouns, including group classifiers used in combination with determiners. These are semantically less restricted than individuating classifiers. In common use are *phū̀ək* for human or highly animate referents, and *l̀aw* for general referents, including human/animate and, more commonly, inanimate objects. The singular/plural distinction of the nominal expression therefore lies in the classifier, rather than in the noun.

- (27) a. เพื่อนคนไหน b. เพื่อนพวกไหน
 phū̀ək khon năy *phū̀ək phū̀ək năy*
 friend CLF which friend CLF.GROUP which
 ‘which friend’ ‘which friends’
- (28) a. รถคันนี้ b. รถเหล่านี้
 rót khan nīi *rót l̀aw nīi*
 car CLF PROX car CLF.GROUP PROX
 ‘this car’ ‘these cars’

The Thai numerals are early loans from Chinese, with the exception of *sūn* ‘zero’, which is from Sanskrit *śūnya* ‘center, empty, zero’, and the higher numerals like ร้อย ‘hundred’ (from the verb ร้อย ‘put on a string’) and พัน ‘thousand’ (from *phan* ‘bind together’).

Compound numbers are formed from the basic numerals in regular fashion, with lower numeral before higher numeral meaning multiplication, and lower numeral after higher numeral meaning addition. The only irregularities are the use of *ʔèt* after multiples of ten (and sometimes hundred and thousand), and *yīi* instead of *săwət* in the word *yīi-síp* ‘twenty’. The compound numerals are illustrated in example (30).

(29) The Thai numerals

๑ หนึ่ง, -เอ็ด	<i>nuɨŋ, -ʔèt</i>	1	๐ ศูนย์	<i>sǔn</i>	0
๒ สอง, ยี่-	<i>sǎwŋ, yîi-</i>	2	ร้อย	<i>rǎwɨ</i>	100
๓ สาม	<i>sǎam</i>	3	พัน	<i>phan</i>	1000
๔ สี่	<i>sii</i>	4	หมื่น	<i>muɨun</i>	10,000
๕ ห้า	<i>hǎa</i>	5	แสน	<i>sǎen</i>	100,000
๖ หก	<i>hòk</i>	6	ล้าน	<i>láan</i>	1,000,000
๗ เจ็ด	<i>cèt</i>	7			
๘ แปด	<i>pèet</i>	8	ห้าสิบเอ็ด	<i>hǎa-sìp-ʔèt</i>	51
๙ เก้า	<i>kǎaw</i>	9	ยี่สิบสอง	<i>yîi-sìp-sǎwŋ</i>	22
๑๐ สิบ	<i>sìp</i>	10	สองร้อย	<i>sǎwŋ-rǎwɨ</i>	200

(30) ๓๖,๔๙๑

sǎam-muɨun-hòk-phan-sii-rǎwɨ-kǎaw-sìp-pèet

$3 \times 10,000 + 6 \times 1,000 + 4 \times 100 + 9 \times 10 + 8 = 36,498$

While numerals are used to indicate an exact amount of referents, there are more general quantifiers in Thai, which behave syntactically like numerals, occurring before a classifier or a measure word. The general quantifier indicating plurality is *lǎay* ‘many, numerous’, the indefinite quantifier *baan* means ‘some’, and the interrogative quantifier is *kìi* ‘how many’.

- (31) a.หมาบางตัว b.หมาหลายตัว c.หมากี่ตัว
mǎa baan tuə mǎa lǎay tuə mǎa kìi tuə
 dog some CLF dog many CLF dog how.many CLF
 ‘some dogs’ ‘many dogs’ ‘how many dogs’

Focal particles can occur between the head noun and the quantifier phrase, indicating a subjective feeling of a small (*khǎe*) or a big (*tân*) amount.

- (32) a. มีเงินแค่สิบบาท b. มีเงินตั้งสิบบาท
mii ɣɯn khǎe sìp bàat. mii ɣɯn tâŋ sìp bàat.
 have money FOC ten baht have money FOC ten baht
 ‘I have only ten baht.’ ‘I have as much as ten baht.’

If the inclusive marker *thán* is used in combination with a quantifier, the classifier may be dropped. An expression like N *thán* QF means ‘all QF Ns’. In combination with a classifier or a measure word, *thán* means ‘the whole’.

- (33) a. เพื่อนทั้งหก (คน) b. เด็กทั้งหลาย
phûaen tháŋ hòk (khon) *dèk tháŋ láay*
 friend INCL six (CLF) child INCL many
 ‘all six friends’ ‘all the (many) children’
- (34) a. ทั้งวัน ทั้งคืน b. บ้านทั้งหลัง
tháŋ wan tháŋ khuuun *bâan tháŋ lăŋ*
 INCL day INCL night house INCL CLF
 ‘all day and all night’ ‘the whole house’

3.1.4 Other modifiers

Like determiners and quantifiers, other modifiers of nouns always follow the modified noun. They can consist of a simple (usually stative or adjectival) verb or a marked relative/attributive clause. The most common relativizer in colloquial Thai is *thîi*. In more formal speech, *ŋan* and *sûŋ* are also used. There are no restrictions on the relativized grammatical or semantic function of the head noun, but for most oblique functions, requiring the use of a preposition, a resumptive pronoun is used.

- (35) a. คนดี b. คนไม่ดี
khon dii *khon mây dii*
 man good man NEG good
 ‘a good man’ ‘a bad man’
- (36) a. คนที่เขียนหนังสือเรื่องนี้
khon thîi khăen năŋsănuu ruáŋ níi
 man REL write book story PROX
 ‘the man who wrote this story’
- b. เพื่อน (คน) ที่เราไปกินข้าวกับเขา
phûaen (khon) thîi raw pay kin khâaw kâp khăw
 friend (CLF) REL 1PL go eat rice with 3HUM
 ‘the friend we went to eat with’

A noun can also be modified by another noun (phrase) or a pronoun. In this case, the modification is either possession or specification. No clear line can be drawn between nominal compounds and nouns modified by other nouns.

- (37) a. บ้าน (ของ) ผม b. ประตู (*ของ) บ้าน
bâan (*khǎwŋ*) *phǒm* *prātuu* (**khǎwŋ*) *bâan*
 house (POSS) 1M door (POSS) house
 ‘my house’ ‘the/a door into the house’

If the possessum is a modified noun, the possessive marker *khǎwŋ* ‘of’ (lit. ‘thing’) obligatorily occurs between possessum and possessor, as in *bâan lǎŋ mǎy khǎwŋ phǒm* ‘my new house’. The possessive marker optionally also occurs with plain nouns as possessum.

A special case of nominal modifiers are expressions consisting of a generic head noun expressing a class followed by the specific name of a member of this class.

- (38) a. ต้นมะม่วง b. นกกระจอก
tôn *māmûaŋ* *nók* *krəcǔk*
 tree mango bird sparrow
 ‘mango tree’ ‘sparrow’

Some of these ‘class noun’ – ‘specific name’ expressions are typically more lexicalized than others. Bird names usually take the class noun *nók*, resulting in a phonetic linker in many cases, as exemplified in (38b) above (See parallel examples in Burmese chapter p. 71, 72). The original name of the sparrow was *cǔk*, which, in close connection with *nók* became *nók-kə-cǔk*. This was reanalysed (and respelled) as *nók* and *krəcǔk* (*krǎ?cǔk* in formal speech). For this reason, many birds’ names have the “prefix” *krə-/krǎ?* in modern Thai.

3.1.5 Prepositions

Although relator nouns like *khâaŋ* ‘side; beside’, and serialized verbs often cover functions of prepositions in other languages (the “coverbs” of Bisang 1992, and section 3.2.2 below), there are some original prepositions in Thai which cannot be synchronically analysed as having the grammatical function of verbs or nouns in modern Thai. The most frequent of these is probably the COMITATIVE *kàp*, which merges with the formal DATIVE marker *kêe* in colloquial Thai, becoming *kə* (stressed form *kǎ?*). This preposition is frequently used not only with a comitative function, but also to indicate indirect objects, as in *bǔk kə khǎw* ‘tell him’. Beneficiaries are either marked by the verbs *hây* ‘give’ (RECIPIENT and general BENEFACTIVE) or *phuà* ‘set aside’(ADDITIONAL BENEFACTIVE), or by the

PURPOSIVE marker *phuâ* ‘for (the sake of)’.¹¹ This marker functions as a preposition before nominal expressions and as a subordinator before clauses. The INSTRUMENTAL preposition *dûay* is also used as adverb, meaning ‘also, too, as well’. Unlike verbal prepositions (coverbs), true prepositions (and relator nouns) always need an overt nominal expression following them, i.e. they cannot be stranded.¹² If the noun phrase is for some reason not adjacent to the preposition, as in some relative expressions, a resumptive pronoun must be used, as seen in (36b) above.

3.2 Verbal domain

The verbal phrase¹³ in Thai consists minimally of a single verb and maximally of a number of verbs, secondary verbs and verbal particles. A single verb can form a complete utterance in Thai, with the interpretation depending on the discourse context. No verbal morphology exists in Thai, either derivative or inflectional, apart from some fully Khmer infixes, not productive and better seen as phenomena of lexicalization than morphology (see above, section 2). Secondary verbs (V2s) can occur before or after the main verb, indicating various categories including tense, mode and aspect (TAM), and directionality. Verbal particles function mainly to express polarity and number. They can be separated from the main verb by V2s or objects, which shows their status as free forms rather than affixes.

3.2.1 Verbal categories (polarity, number, TAM, directionality, etc.)

Polarity in Thai is expressed by the pre-verbal NEGATION particle *mây*, which always occurs directly before the verbal element to be negated; it is a narrow focus negation marker. Only verbal elements can be negated by this particle. If a nominal or adverbial phrase is to be negated, a dummy verb *chây* ‘be so, be the case that’ must be used. This construction can also be used to extend the focus of negation over a whole clause. The narrow focus of the negation marker al-

11 This preposition is not cognate with the (co-)verb *phuâ*, in spite of the phonetic similarity in modern Thai.

12 A stranded preposition is one that is separated from its NP, as in the English phrase ‘the book I am looking for’.

13 I use ‘verbal phrase’ in the sense of Dixon (2010: 108 ff) ‘verb phrase’, which is different from ‘verb phrase’ (including object NPs) in some syntactic theories.

- b. มั่นกินกันอยู่
man kin kan yùu.
 3 eat PL/REC STAY
 ‘They are eating (together/each other).’
- c. เขาชอบกัน
khǎw chǎw kan.
 3HUM like REC/PL
 ‘They like each other.’

Another non-verbal morpheme which appears in the verbal phrase is the PROSPECTIVE marker *cə* (full form *cǎ?*), grammaticalized from the obsolete verb *cāk* ‘know’, which occurs in standard Thai only in the bound compound *rúu.cāk* ‘know’. The prospective marker is placed before the verb and the negation marker *mây*. It indicates *realis*, i.e. future and hypothetical, as well as expected but not actually confirmed events like generic statements. It occurs after some modal verbs like *yàak* ‘want to’ and *khuən* ‘ought to’, but not others like *tôŋ* ‘must’. Although *cə* can be used to describe future events, it is not a future marker as such. Tense as grammatical category does not exist in Thai, positioning in time of an event being implied by the context, or expressed explicitly by adverbs or other lexical means.

Aspectual distinctions are expressed mainly by secondary verbs (V2s). Some are semantically concrete, like post-verbal *tǎw* ‘continue’, or the phasal verbs *rǎm* ‘begin’ and *lǎk* ‘end, stop’, both in pre-verbal position. Others, like the directionals, have been semantically bleached through grammaticalization into mainly functional rather than lexical verbs (see below). A rather recent aspectual marker, rarely used in colloquial speech, is the originally nominal Khmer loan *kamləŋ* ‘strength, power’, which is used to indicate progressive events. It serves as translation equivalent of English *V-ing* forms, after which it was calqued.

3.2.2 Serial verb constructions

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a single clause containing two or more lexically full verbs expressing a single event. Various definitions of SVCs (Bril (2004), Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006), Vittrant (2006), among others), mention other features such as argument sharing, common TAM and polarity, as well as equal syntactic status of all verbs involved: no verb is subordinate to or dependent on the other(s). Two major types of SVCs can be distinguished, namely root serialization

and core serialization (Bril, 2004: 2). In root serialization (also called nuclear serialization), all verbs in a predicate are adjacent, preceded or followed by the arguments. In core serialization, two or more cores, each consisting of a verb and its arguments, are conjoined to form a complex predicate, with identical arguments expressed overtly only once. Unlike root serialization, core serialization allows the verbs to be separated by arguments (but not adverbial elements). In this type of serialization, the object of V_1 often functions as subject of V_2 .

Verb serialization in Thai is of the second type: the verbs in a SVC are not necessarily adjacent, even if the serialization consists of a main verb and one or two grammaticalized secondary verbs (see section 3). The object NP always follows the first verb it logically complements, as seen in (41a), where the noun *khə̀nǒm* ‘sweets’ is the object of both *súuu* ‘buy’ and *kin* ‘eat’, but appears only after the former.

- (41) a. ผมซื้อขนมมากิน
phǒm súuu khə̀nǒm maa kin.
 1M buy sweets come eat
 ‘I bought in some sweets to eat.’

That the serial verb construction is a syntactic unit is shown by the impossibility of peripheral elements like prepositional phrases intervening in the expression, even if they belong after one of the verbs logically, as seen in (41b) and (41c).

- b. *ผมซื้อขนมมาจากตลาดกิน
**phǒm súuu khə̀nǒm maa càak təlàat kin.*
 1M buy sweets come from market eat
- c. ผมซื้อขนมมากินจากตลาด
phǒm súuu khə̀nǒm maa kin càak təlàat.
 1M buy sweets come eat from market
 ‘I bought sweets at the market.’

SVCs can have various interpretations, with either the first or the second verbs, or both, carrying the main semantics of the expression. In (42) and (43), both verbs retain their full lexical meaning,.

- (42) เขานั่งกินข้าว
khǎw nāŋ kin khâaw.
 3HUM sit eat rice
 ‘He is sitting and eating.’

- (43) โจรวิ่งหนีตำรวจ
coon wîŋ nǐi tamrùat.
 thief run flee police
 ‘The thief ran away from the police.’

In some cases, only prosodic stress (indicated by ') and context determine which verb is the full lexical verb and which the secondary verb, as in (44a-b).

- (44) a. เราไปอยู่
raw pay 'yùu.
 1PL go stay
 ‘We go to live there.’
- b. เราไปอยู่
raw 'pay yùu.
 1PL go STAY
 ‘We still go there.’

All verbs in an SVC share polarity: it is possible to negate only the whole expression, not one of its parts. If in a sentence like (41a) above only the second verb is negated, the expression is receives a biclausal interpretation, as in (41a'). In this case, there usually is a pause between the two clauses, which are not a single intonation unit.

- (41) a'. ผมซื้อขนมมา ไม่กิน
phǒm súu khənmǎm maa [...] mây kin.
 1M buy sweets come NEG eat
 ‘I bought some sweets in but I/you/they are not eating them.’

3.2.3 Secondary verbs

Verbs in SVCs can easily be grammaticalized, losing their full lexical semantics and acquiring grammatical functions. Unlike grammaticalization elsewhere in the language, the process of grammaticalization into secondary verbs in Thai does not involve phonetic reduction: the secondary verb has the same shape as the full lexical verb, with which it coexists in the language in many cases. These grammaticalized secondary verbs (V2) occur in fixed positions relative to the main verb and to each other, if more than one is present in a construction. The function of many V2s depends on their position; the same verb may occur in dif-

ferent positions with different functions. The functions covered by V2s range from valence to TAM, resultative (success), manner, speaker attitude, the expression of emotions, and clause linking.

Unlike main verbs in SVCs, some V2s can be negated independently, with the scope of the negation extending only over the verb directly following it. The following table shows the main grammaticalized V2s with their lexical meaning, position relative to the main verb (V) or a clause (C), and their grammatical functions.

Table 6: Secondary verbs

<i>Form and lexical meaning</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Grammatical function</i>
ให้ <i>hây</i> 'give'	_ V	CAUSATIVE (permissive, jussive)
	V _	benefactive
	_ C	so that (PURPOSIVE, DIFFERENT SUBJECT)
ได้ <i>dây</i> 'receive, get'	_ V	get to V, really V
	V _	have the opportunity to V
เป็น <i>pen</i> 'be'	V _	able, know how to V
ไหว <i>wây</i> 'move'	V _	capable (physically, mentally)
ต้อง <i>tây</i> 'touch' (obsolete)	_ V	must, have to
อยาก <i>yâak</i> 'desire' (obsolete)	_ V	want to
ถูก <i>thûuk</i> 'come into contact'	_ V, _ C	be affected by (quasi PASSIVE)
	V _	V correctly
ไว้ <i>wây</i> 'keep, deposit'	_ V	do for later use (resultative)
เลย <i>lây</i> 'go past'	_ V	V right away, spontaneously
กว่า <i>kwâa</i> 'go beyond'	V _	more than (COMPARATIVE)
ว่า <i>wâa</i> 'say'	V _ C	that (COMPLEMENTIZER)
แล้ว <i>lɛɛw</i> 'finish' ¹⁴	_ V	SEQUENTIAL (and then)

14 As full verb, *lɛɛw* has been replaced in Thai by the Khmer loanword *sèt*.

<i>Form and lexical meaning</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Grammatical function</i>
อยู่ <i>yǔu</i> 'stay, remain'	V _	NEW SITUATION (NSIT) ¹⁵
	_ V	stay and/to V
	V _	be still V-ing (TEMPORARY)
	V _	DIRECTIONAL (away from center of interest)
ขึ้น <i>khuŋ</i> 'go up'	V _	more than before; succeed
ลง <i>loŋ</i> 'go down'	V _	less than before; succeed
เข้า <i>khâw</i> 'enter'	V _	succeed
ออก <i>kwək</i> 'exit'	V _	succeed
ต่อ <i>tɔ̀w</i> 'follow'	V _	keep V-ing (CONTINUOUS)

V2s expressing manner include, besides common modifiers like *rew* 'be.fast', *cháu* 'be.slow', also more idiosyncratic verbs like *lên* 'play', which marks an activity executed for pleasure, as in *kin lên* 'eat for fun' (i.e. without being hungry or without the aim of becoming full. This V2 is fully productive and can be attached to any activity if semantically compatible.

The directions are a special class of V2s, which Bisang (1992: 67) divides into two subcategories, namely "verbs of direction" (*Richtungsverben*) and "verbs of orientation" (*Orientierungsverben*). Verbs of direction include V2s like 'move up', 'move down', 'move in' and 'move out', verbs of orientation are 'towards the center of interest' and 'away from the center of interest'. In Thai, a verb indicating the manner of movement, e.g. *เดิน* 'walk' can be combined with a verb of direction and a verb of orientation, resulting in the complex structure *เดิน khâw maa* 'walk in' (lit. 'walk – enter – come'). Directionals function as modifiers of the main verb and cannot be negated independently.

The verbs of orientation *maa* 'come' and *pay* 'go' operate in the three different but sometimes inter-related dimensions of space, time and emotion. In essence, whenever the main verb includes motion, the spatial reading is domi-

¹⁵ NSIT is widespread category in Southeast Asian languages, indicating that a new (but somewhat expected) situation has started now. Its interpretation depends on the context and the presence of other V2s and ranges from 'is V-ing now', 'has started V-ing now' to 'has V-ed', 'has finished V-ing now' (s. Jenny 2001: 125ff). See for instance Burmese verb final particle နှိ *pyi*² (Burmese chapter, § 3.3.1, table 12 p. 97).

nant, otherwise the interpretation can be temporal or emotional. In the temporal domain, *maa* ‘come’ expresses an event that has started some time in the past and extends towards the present, while *pay* ‘go’ indicates that the event goes on from now into the future (continuative aspect). In the emotional domain, *maa* expresses ongoing involvement of the speaker in events that may be reversible, and are often positive, while *pay* denotes events that are removed from the interest of the speaker, usually irreversible, and often negative. The different domains overlap to some extent, and a mixture of the three interpretations in a single expression is frequent. Depending on the semantics not all verbs are compatible with both, e.g. *taay* ‘die’ can normally only be combined with *pay*, not with *maa*. Others, like *phûut* ‘speak, say’ and *tham* ‘do’ are compatible with both, resulting in different meanings. Specific interpretations are highly dependent on context.

- (45) พูดมา *phûut maa* ‘he told me; I/you/he said; tell me (I will listen)’
 พูดไป *phûut pay* ‘he told so.; he goes on talking; just talk (I won’t listen)’
 ทำมา *tham maa* ‘I/you/he did, has been doing; I/you/he did it (and it’s good)’
 ทำไป *tham pay* ‘I/you/he will go on doing; I/you/he did it (I don’t like it)’

3.2.4 Valence

Thai does not have any morphological means to change the valency of a predicate. Many verbs can be used either transitively or intransitively, with the transitive reading usually involving causation: *pît* ‘close sth.’ ~ ‘be closed’, *ปັດ* ‘issue, put out’ ~ ‘leave, go out’.

Causative function can be periphrastically expressed by placing the purposive marker *hây* (lit. ‘give’) before the predicate indicating the action caused and the causee, as in (46) (See parallel functions of ‘give’ in Mon and Burmese). The meaning is either permissive or jussive, depending on the discourse context. The reading can be disambiguated by adding a verb expressing permission (e.g. *ปุ่นยั่ว* ‘allow’) or command (e.g. *สั่ง* ‘order’, *บอก* ‘tell’) before *hây*. Unlike the lexical (unmarked) transitives/causatives like *pît* and *ปັດ*, the periphrastic constructions do not express direct causation, i.e. the caused event is not necessarily carried out. A more neutral causative is expressed by *tham hây* ‘make GIVE’, which normally is interpreted as direct causation, as in (46b) and does not require an animate causer.

- (46) a. แม่ (อนุญาต/บอก) ให้เด็กไปเล่นข้างนอก
mɛɛ (ʔənuʔyâat/bɔ̀wɔk) hây dɛk pay lɛn khâaŋ-nɔ̀wɔk.
 mother (allow/tell) GIVE child go play side-out
 ‘The mother let/made the child go and play outside.’
- b. ลมพัดทำให้บ้านพังหลายหลัง
lom phât rɛɛŋ tham hây bâan phan lăay lăŋ.
 wind blow strong make give house collapse many CLF
 ‘The wind blew hard causing many houses to collapse.’

The *hây* causative construction is also used to indicate subject switch in desiderative expressions. The changed subject (“causee”) does not have to be overtly expressed.

- (47) a. ผมอยากไป b. ผมอยากให้ไป
phǒm yàak pay. phǒm yàak hây X pay.
 1M DES go 1M DES GIVE X go
 ‘I want to go.’ ‘I want X to go.’

There is no straightforward passive construction in Thai, although the Westernization of Thai grammar which started in the mid 19th century has led to an originally adversative construction being extended to more neutral contexts, developing into a quasi-passive form. The construction ‘X *thùuk* Y’ literally means ‘X is affected by Y’, usually in a negative way. As full verb *thùuk* means ‘hit, come into contact with’, which has led to a wide range of semantic and grammatical extensions, including ‘correct’ (derived from an idiom like ‘hit the mark’), ‘cheap’, and adversative passive-like expressions. Unlike morphosyntactic passives in other languages, the adversative *thùuk* construction is biclausal and does not lead to a reduction of arguments or a necessary demotion of the agent, although this is possible in formal style. In colloquial Thai, the argument preceding *thùuk* is the entity affected by the (usually clausal) argument following it (See the cat in example (48)). While the former argument is typically (but not necessarily) animate or construed as animate (e.g. in metonymical or metaphorical extensions), the latter argument usually is a situation or, rarely, a nominal referent.

- (48) แมวถูกหมาไล่รอบสวน
mɛɛw thùuk mǎa lây rɔ̀wɔp sǔaŋ.
 cat HIT dog chase surround garden
 ‘The cat was chased by the dog around the garden.’

(49) a. (formal Thai)

หนังสือเล่มนี้ถูกเขียนโดย ก.

nǎŋ.sǔiŋ lêm nii thûuk khǎn dooy X.

book CLF PROX HIT write by X

‘This book was written by X.’

In spoken Thai, the more recent Khmer loan *dooy* ‘hit, come into contact with’ is taking over the function of *thûuk* as a full verb as well as pre-clausal adversative auxiliary. While in the formal register *thûuk* is developing into a neutral passive marker (49), *dooy* retains its adversative connotation.

In most cases, equivalents of English passive are expressed in Thai by simply fronting the undergoer to the preclausal topic position, usually separated from the clause by a short intonation pause. In a kind of mixed structure, the agent can be expressed as oblique in formal Thai also with fronted undergoers, but without intonation pause, resulting in an unmarked passive reading of the verb:

(49) b. (formal Thai)

หนังสือเล่มนี้เขียนโดย ก.

nǎŋ.sǔiŋ lêm nii khǎn dooy X.

book CLF PROX write by X

‘This book was written by X.’

3.3 Clause structure

Clause structure in Thai is governed by pragmatic as well as syntactic factors. While the basic word order can be described as Subject Verb (Object), it is more useful to speak of a TOPIC-COMMENT clause structure. Just about any constituent of the clause can function as topic and thus be placed before the comment, although it is much more common for verbs to function as part of the comment (usually the predication) than as topics. The verb is also the only obligatory element in most clauses, arguments being freely omitted if they are retrievable from the linguistic or extra-linguistic context.

While pragmatics plays an important role in the structure of the clause in Thai, there are syntactic restrictions on the ordering of constituents. Multiple topics are allowed in Thai, but the object and the subject cannot be simultaneously topicalized. This leads to the ungrammaticality of SOV (or AOV) word order, i.e. with both fronted subject and object (50). Other word orders, i.e. OSV (51) and SVO (52) are allowed. The other syntactic restriction is that subjects do not

occur in postverbal position, except as antitopics or ‘afterthoughts’, where they are not part of the clause *per se* and separated from it by an intonation pause. The different possible and impossible constituent orders are illustrated in the following examples.

- (50) *เขาหมาไม่ชอบ
**khǎw mǎa mây chǎwɔp.* SOV
 3HUM dog NEG like
- (51) หมา เขาไม่ชอบ
mǎa, khǎw mây chǎwɔp. O-SV
 dog 3HUM NEG like
 ‘Dogs, he doesn’t like.’
- (52) เขาไม่ชอบหมา
khǎw mây chǎwɔp mǎa. SVO
 3HUM NEG like dog
 ‘He doesn’t like dogs.’
- (53) ไม่ชอบหมา คนนั้น
mây chǎwɔp mǎa, khon nán. VO – A
 NEG like dog person MEDL
 ‘He doesn’t like dogs, that guy.’

In ditransitive clauses, the theme (object) precedes the recipient (beneficiary). In actual language use, ditransitive clauses with both theme and recipient overtly expressed are avoided, though, or the theme is fronted in a serial verb construction of the type *ʔaw X hây Y* ‘take X give Y’. The recipient may be marked by the prepositional verb *hây* or the preposition *kâp/kêe* ‘to’.

3.3.1 Clause linkage

Complete sentences or clauses can be linked by juxtaposition or by the use of a marker, such as *léʔ* ‘and’, *léɛw* ‘and then’, and *têe* ‘but’. There is no morphosyntactic marker of finiteness in Thai, nor is there a syntactic difference between matrix and subordinate clauses. This means that no clear-cut syntactic distinction can be made between coordinate and subordinate clauses. Coordination and subordination can thus be defined only functionally and by the presence of an overt linkage marker, which always occurs clause initially in one of the con-

joined clauses. While the above mentioned linkers are traditionally described as coordinators, there are a number of subordinators in Thai as well.

Besides functionally specific subordination markers like *thâa* ‘if’, *thân-thân thîi* ‘although’ and *muâi* ‘when’ etc., Thai also has linkage markers with broader functions, some of which are not restricted to subordinate clauses but can also appear as linker between nouns and modifiers, such as *wâa* ‘that’, lit. ‘say’ (56) (57), or as prepositions, like *phuâi* ‘in order to, for the sake of’, *thîi* ‘that, at’. The latter also serves to introduce relative clauses in postnominal position (54) (55) and to nominalize complete sentences, often with the dummy head noun *kaan* ‘the fact’. Many of the morphemes used to mark subordination are transparently derived from lexical verbs or nouns, some of which are still in common (in some cases only in dialectal or literary) use. Subordinate clauses in Thai usually follow the matrix clause (58), but this order can be reversed for pragmatic reasons except in relative clauses, which always follow their head noun. The following examples illustrate the use of some of these morphemes in different functions.

- (54) ผมดีใจที่คุณมาได้

<i>phǒm</i>	<i>dii-cay</i>	<i>thîi</i>	<i>khun</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>dây.</i>
1M	good-heart	REL	2	come	GET

‘I’m glad that you could come.’

- (55) หนังสือที่อ่านแล้ว เก็บในตู้

<i>nǎŋ.suñu</i>	<i>thîi</i>	<i>ʔaan</i>	<i>lɛ̌w</i>	<i>kɛ̌p</i>	<i>naɯ</i>	<i>tûu.</i>
book	REL	read	NSIT	collect	in	cupboard

‘He put the book which he had read in the cupboard.’

- (56) เขาบอกว่าจะมา

<i>khǎw</i>	<i>bòʔk</i>	<i>wâa</i>	<i>cə</i>	<i>maa.</i>
3HUM	tell	SAY	PROS	come

‘He said that he would come.’

- (57) คำว่าอรอย แปลว่าอะไร

<i>kham</i>	<i>wâa</i>	<i>ʔəwỳ</i>	<i>plɛ̌</i>	<i>wâa</i>	<i>ʔəray?</i>
word	SAY	‘aroy’	translate	SAY	what

‘What does *aroy* mean?’

- (58) เขาไม่ได้มา เพราะ (ว่า) ไม่มีเวลา

<i>khǎw</i>	<i>mây</i>	<i>dây</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>phrɔ̌ʔ</i>	<i>(wâa)</i>	<i>mây</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>weelaa.</i>
3HUM	NEG	GET	come	because	(SAY)	NEG	have	time

‘He didn’t come because he had no time.’

- (59) เขาทะเลาะกันเพราะลูก
khǎw thalɔʔ kan phrɔʔ lûuk.
 3HUM quarrel REC because child
 ‘They quarreled because of their children.’

A special form of clause linkage can be seen in expressions involving the TOPIC-COMMENT LINKER (TCL) *kô*. In constructions of the type C1 *kô* C2, its function can be consecutive, sequential or concessive.

- (60) มีเงินก็ไปได้
mii ɲɯn kô pay dâi.
 have money TCL go GET
 ‘If you have money, you can go.’

- (61) ไม่มีเงินก็ไปได้
mây mii ɲɯn kô pay dâi.
 NEG have money TCL go GET
 ‘Even if you don’t have money, you can go.’

- (62) ทำงาน (แล้ว) ก็ได้เงิน
tham ɲaan (léɛw) kô dâi ɲɯn.
 do work (FINISH) TCL get money
 ‘I work and then I’ll get money.’

This linker is also used in other constructions, such as NP *kô* VP, where it is translated as ‘NP VPs too’, ‘even NP VPs’, or similar, depending on the semantics of the verbs and NPs involved, as well as on the context.

3.3.2 Questions

Content questions (wh-questions) in Thai are formed with an interrogative (attributive, pronominal, adverbial), which occurs *in situ*, occupying the place where the constituent asked about normally occurs in the sentence. There is no change in constituent order or other morphosyntactic means indicating the interrogative force besides the question word itself. Common interrogative words are *khay* ‘who’, *ʔaray* ‘what’, *thamay* ‘why’, *thîi-nǎy* ‘where’, *yanɲay* ‘how’, *muǎ-ray* ‘when’, etc. (See Table 7). The addition of the particle *bāaŋ* at the end of the sentence pluralizes the question, i.e. more than one answer is expected.

Table 7: Common interrogative words

	Thai form	Meaning	Origin
ใคร	<i>kh-ray</i>	‘who’	from <i>khon-ray</i> ‘which person’
อะไร	<i>ʔaray</i>	‘what’	from <i>ʔan-ray</i> ‘which thing’
ทำไม	<i>tham-may</i>	‘why’	from <i>tham-ray</i> ‘do what’
ที่ไหน	<i>thii-nǎy</i>	‘where’	‘which place’
ยังไง	<i>yaŋŋay</i>	‘how’	from <i>yāŋ-ray</i> ‘which manner’
เมื่อไร	<i>muə-ray</i>	‘when’	‘which time’

Polar (yes/no) questions are formed by adding an interrogative sentence final particle to a complete sentence or a part of a sentence. Three interrogative particles are in common use in Thai, covering different functions.

The particle *mǎy* (supposedly from *ruǐu mǎy* ‘or not’) is placed after affirmative verbal expressions to form a yes/no-question. This form has a connotation of an invitation or an expected positive answer. It cannot be used with negated sentences or with nominal or adverbial predicates.

The morpheme *ruǐu* ‘or’ can be used to form alternative questions (*cha-a ruǐu kaafɛɛ* ‘tea or coffee?’) or polar questions if placed at the end of an utterance, either verbal or non-verbal. It is the only construction available in negative questions (*mǎy pay ruǐu?* ‘aren’t you going?’) and with non-verbal predicates (*phǒm ruǐu?* ‘(did you mean) me?’). In affirmative questions *ruǐu* marks surprise or disbelief, expecting a negative answer, as in *pay ruǐu?* ‘are you really going?’.

The most connotationally neutral form of polar question in colloquial Thai is by adding the sentence final particle (*ruǐu*) *plàaw* ‘(or) not’ (lit. ‘empty’). This is also the form preferred in indirect speech, as in (63).

- (63) ไม่รู้ว่า เขาจะไปหรือเปล่า
mây rúu wǎa khǎw cə pay ruǐu plàaw.
 NEG know SAY 3HUM PROS go or not
 ‘I don’t know whether he is going.’

Both content and polar questions can be “passed on” to a new addressee or referent with the formula (*léɛw*) *X lâ?*, where *X* is the new addressee to who, or the new referent about which, the question is asked.

- (64) เขาไปไหน แล้วคุณล่ะ
khǎw pay nǎy? léɛw khun lâ?
 3HUM go where FINISH 2 Q
 ‘Where is he going?’ ‘And what about you?’

3.3.3 Imperatives

No special morphosyntactic means are necessary to form an imperative. The bare verb is sufficient, though this sounds rather abrupt and impolite in many contexts. To attenuate the abruptness of an imperative, a softening particle such as preverbal *chũay* ‘help’ and/or sentence final *nỳ* ‘a bit’ is added. Other possibilities are to express the imperative by an indirect speech act, such as *khǎo hây* C ‘I wish that C’, *chǎn C* ‘I invite you to C’ or *C nỳ dâi mǎy?* ‘could you C a bit?’. A stronger form of command ends in *sǐ?*, probably a shortened version of the V2 *sǎ*, lit. ‘waste’, used to express a perfective event with a connotation of irreversibility and absoluteness.

Hortative expressions usually take the sentence final particle *thǎ?/hǎ?*, which expresses a mild request or wish for someone to do something.

The prohibitive is expressed by preverbal *yàa*, which may be modified by postverbal *ʔik* ‘again’ to express ‘don’t C anymore’ or preverbal *phũn* for ‘don’t C yet’. Third person prohibitive (or negative optative) uses preclausal *yàa hây* ‘may not C’.

3.3.4 Other clause particles

Thai makes frequent use of clause or sentence final particles (SFP) to express different notions, including speaker’s attitude, modality, etc. Among the most common of these SFPs are emphatic *nǎ?* and *sǐ?*, and the counter-expectative *rǎk*, which occurs mostly, but not exclusively, in negative statements.

Sentence-final honorific particles form a category of their own, the use of which depends on the social status and gender of the speaker and the social status of the hearer. The normal forms used in polite speech are *kháp* for male speakers to equals or superiors, *khǎ?/khá?* for female speakers to equals or superiors, *cǎ?/cá?* to intimate friends and children,¹⁶ and *wǎ?* expressing contempt, intimacy or dismissiveness (i.e. a kind of anti-honorific).

16 The falling tone variant is used in statements, the high tone in questions and imperatives.

4 Semantics

4.1 Pronouns

The Thai pronoun system makes elaborate distinctions based on the gender and social status of speech-act participants and third person referents. The following table lists some of the most common pronouns with an indication of the social status thus implied.

Table 8: Pronouns

1. PERS.		2. PERS.		3. PERS.	
กู	intimate, impolite	มึง	intimate, impolite	มัน	objects;
<i>kuu</i>		<i>muŋ</i>		<i>man</i>	hum ref. contemptuous
ข้า	intimate	เอ็ง	intimate	เขา	neutral
<i>khâa</i>		<i>ʔeŋ</i>		<i>khǎw</i>	
ฉัน	informal, intimate	แก	informal,	เธอ	female referents
<i>chǎn</i>		<i>kɛɛ</i>	contemptuous	<i>thɯ</i>	
ผม	m. speaker, neutral	เธอ	familiar, intimate	หล่อน	female referents
<i>phǒm</i>		<i>thɯ</i>		<i>lǎwn</i>	
กระผม	m. speaker, formal	คุณ	neutral, polite	ท่าน	formal
<i>kràʔphǒm</i>		<i>khun</i>		<i>thân</i>	
ดิฉัน	f. speaker, formal	ท่าน	formal		
<i>dīʔchǎn</i>		<i>thân</i>			
ข้าพเจ้า	formal	เจ้า	literary		
<i>khâaphacâaw</i>		<i>câaw</i>			
เรา	plural				
<i>raw</i>					

In everyday speech, pronouns are frequently replaced by kinship terms (see § 4.2.2), personal names (especially for female speakers also in the first person) or professional terms such as ‘teacher’, ‘doctor’, ‘market seller’, etc., in all persons.

4.2 Semantic domains

According to the socio-cultural context and history of the Thai language, some semantic domains are very elaborate while others are less well equipped or loaded with foreign loans. As can be expected in a mainly agricultural society, there is a wide array of terms for edible and useful plants and animals, both

domesticated and wild. One surprising lacuna in the vocabulary of Thai is the distinction between different stages of rice, which is present in other languages in Southeast Asia. Thai uses the generic term *khâaw* not only for rice in all stages of production (rice plant, unhusked rice, husked rice, cooked rice), but also for other kinds of cereals. It has also come to mean ‘food’ in general, serving as generic object of *kin* ‘eat’.

4.2.1 Elaborate vocabulary

More elaborate is the vocabulary in activities involving the human body, especially different types of carrying objects, as the following table illustrates.

Table 9: Verbs for ‘carry’

ถือ	<i>thuŋw</i>	carry on hands
หิ้ว	<i>hîw</i>	carry hanging down from hand (e.g. a handbag)
แบก	<i>bêɛk</i>	carry on back
หอบ	<i>hɔ̀ɔp</i>	carry with both arms
อุ้ม	<i>ʔûm</i>	carry with both arms close to body (e.g. a child)
หาม	<i>hâap</i>	carry on pole across shoulder
หาม	<i>hăam</i>	carry on pole between two people
เดิน	<i>thɯn</i>	carry on head
สะพาย	<i>səphaay</i>	carry suspended on back
คาบ	<i>khâap</i>	carry in mouth (as a dog)

As seen in 2.1.4, nouns belonging to certain semantic domains usually take a class indicator proclitic, such as *tôn* for trees and other plants, *nók* for birds, *plaa* for fishes, *prəthêet* for countries, *muəŋ* for towns and cities, etc. This class indicator can be dropped in some cases, especially if the referent is well known or present in the discourse.

Basic colour terms are syntactically stative verbs; they can be directly negated and combine with aspectual markers where semantically appropriate. The basic colour terms are etymologically opaque; they can not be semantically linked to other lexemes, while secondary colour terms are mostly transparently derived from nouns and do not have verbal features. All colour terms can take the class indicator proclitic *sǐi* ‘colour’. The basic colour terms are listed in the following table. Notice the absence of a basic verbal term for ‘blue’ (*sǐi nám-ŋɯn* ‘silver-water colour’, *sǐi fǎa* ‘sky colour’) and ‘brown’ (*sǐi nám-taan* ‘sugar colour’) from the list.

Table 10: Basic colour terms

ขาว	<i>khǎaw</i>	‘white’	เหลือง	<i>luǎŋ</i>	‘yellow’
ดำ	<i>dam</i>	‘black’	เขียว	<i>khǎw</i>	‘green’
แดง	<i>dɛɛŋ</i>	‘red’	ม่วง	<i>mûaŋ</i>	‘purple’
แสด	<i>sɛ̌ɛt</i>	‘orange’	เทา	<i>thaw</i>	‘grey’

4.2.2 Kinship terms

Kinship terms in Thai make an obligatory gender distinction from ‘mother’ and ‘father’ up. The gender of other kinship terms can be specified by adding *chaay* ‘man’ for male and *sǎaw* ‘young woman, virgin’ for female. Words referring to relatives younger than one’s parents are not specified for gender but for relative age. In compound expressions like ‘parents’ the older, and where applicable the male part, precedes the younger/female part, as in *phǎw-mêe* ‘parents’, *phǐi-nǎwŋ* ‘siblings’, *pûu-yâa-taa-yaay* ‘grandparents’. One interesting feature of the Thai kinship system is that there are no reciprocal terms like ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ apart from the recent (and rarely used) compound *lûuk-phǐi-lûuk-nǎwŋ* ‘cousin’ (male or female, not specified for relative age), lit. ‘child-elder.sibling-child-younger.sibling’. Another typologically unusual feature, which is nonetheless common in Southeast Asian languages, is the greater elaboration of generations below self than those above self. The main kinship terms are given in the following table.

Table 11: Kinship terms

พี่	<i>phǐi</i>	elder sibling	อา	<i>ʔaa</i>	younger sibling of father
น้อง	<i>nǎwŋ</i>	younger sibling	น้า	<i>nǎa</i>	younger sibling of mother
ลูก	<i>lûuk</i>	son, daughter	ป้า	<i>pâa</i>	elder sister of father or mother
หลาน	<i>lǎan</i>	grand-child, niece, nephew	ลุง	<i>luŋ</i>	elder brother of father or mother
เหลน	<i>lɛ̌en</i>	son/daughter of <i>lǎan</i>	ปู่	<i>pûu</i>	father’s father
สื้อ	<i>lûun</i>	son/daughter of <i>lɛ̌en</i>	ย่า	<i>yâa</i>	father’s mother
สืบ	<i>lûunp</i>	son/daughter of <i>lûun</i>	ตา	<i>taa</i>	mother’s father
สืด	<i>lûut</i>	son/daughter of <i>lûunp</i>	ยาย	<i>yaay</i>	mother’s mother
พ่อ	<i>phǎw</i>	father	ทวด	<i>thûat</i>	great grandparent (and above)
แม่	<i>mêe</i>	mother			

4.3 “Royal speech”: *raachaasàp*

One important aspect of the Thai language is the existence of special lexical items reserved for members of the monk order and royalty, the so-called *raachaasàp*. There is a number of different sets of vocabulary, each appropriate for speaking with or about a specific set of referents (Fry & al 2013: 344). The use of the appropriate lexical set is part of the formal education in Thailand, and is adhered to in all public and official contexts. While the monastic vocabulary consists of only few lexical items, such as *chǎn* for ‘eat’ (standard Thai *kin*) and *cam wát* for ‘sleep’ (lit. ‘stay in the temple’, standard Thai *นอน*), the royal vocabulary consists of a complete set of nouns and verbs, including affixes to change ‘common talk’ into ‘royal speech’, viz. *son*, literally ‘maintain’, as verbal prefix and *phráʔ-thūi-nân*, literally ‘royal seat’, as nominal suffix. Different lexemes are used for different levels of royalty and other segments of society, actually forming a continuum from the highest levels of the royal family down to the lowest ‘market slang’ (*phaasǎa tǎlàat*). Most of the high level vocabulary is derived from Khmer and Sanskrit sources, an inheritance of the Angkorian Khmer empire, while the monastic vocabulary is mostly Pali. The following table illustrates some of the differences between common and royal speech (see Diller 2006 for more details).

Table 12: Royal speech

Common		Royal		Gloss
กิน	<i>kin</i>	เสวย	<i>səwǎy</i>	eat
ไป	<i>pay</i>	เสด็จ	<i>sədèt</i>	go
นอน	<i>non</i>	บรรทม	<i>banthom</i>	sleep
ป่วย	<i>pūay</i>	ประชวร	<i>prachuan</i>	be sick
น้ำ	<i>nǎam</i>	พระสุธารส	<i>phráʔ sùʔthaarót</i>	water
ประตู	<i>prətuu</i>	พระทวาร	<i>phráʔ thəwaan</i>	door
คอ	<i>khaw</i>	พระศอ	<i>phráʔ sǎw</i>	neck
แว่นตา	<i>wên taa</i>	ฉลองพระเนตร	<i>chəlǎwɔŋ phráʔ nêet</i>	glasses

5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the workings of the Thai language with an emphasis on the characteristics it shares, in various domains, with other languages in the region. Accordingly, it can be observed that the Thai lexicon has, in

common with neighbouring languages Mon and Burmese, a system of psycho-collocations formed from the same Pali etymon *citta* 'mind', a developed classifier system. Serial constructions and TOPIC-COMMENT type sentences are common. It is noted further that, like the languages of other neighbouring hierarchical societies such as Burmese, Mon and Khmer, Thai has a pronominal system which encodes social relationships and a system of honorific vocabulary used in royal and religious contexts.

In general, it has been shown that Thai occupies a central position within the Mainland Southeast Asian linguistic area, possessing as it does the great majority of the properties which are characteristic of the languages in the area.

Abbreviations

ADH	adhortative
CLF	classifier
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DET	determiner
EMPH	emphatic
EUPH	euphonic
FOC	focus
HON	honorific
HUM	human
INCL	inclusive marker
LOC	locative
MDF	modifier
NEG	negation
NSIT	new situation
PL	plural
PROB	probability
PROS	prospective
PROX	proximal
Q	question
QUANT	quantifier
RED	reduplication
REC	reciprocal
REL	relativizer
SUB	subordinator
SG	singular
TCL	topic-comment linker

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Appendix 1: Summary of linguistic features

Legend

- +++ the feature is pervasive or used obligatorily in the language
- ++ the feature is normal but selectively distributed in the language
- +
- the feature is impossible or absent in the language

	Feature	+++/++/+/-	§ ref. in this chapter
Phonetics	Lexical tone or register	+++	§1.2, p.563
Phonetics	Back unrounded vowels	+++	§1.1, p.562
Phonetics	Initial velar nasal	+++	§1.1, p.562
Phonetics	Implosive consonants	+	§1.1, p.562
Phonetics	Sesquisyllabic structures	+++	§1.3, p.564
Morphology	Tendency towards monosyllabicity	+++	§1.3, p.564
Morphology	Tendency to form compounds	+++	§2.1, p.566
Morphology	Tendency towards isolating (rather than affixation)	+++	§2, p.566
Morphology	Psycho-collocations	+++	§2.2, p.567
Morphology	Elaborate expressions (e.g. four-syllable or other set patterns)	+++	§2.3, p.571–73
Morphology	Reduplication generally	+++	§2.3, p.572, §2.4, p.573
Morphology	Reduplication of nouns	+++	§2.4, p.573
Morphology	Reduplication of verbs	+++	§2.4, p.573
Grammar	Use of classifiers	+++	§3.1.1, p.575
Grammar	Classifiers used in counting	+++	§3.1.1, p.575, §3.3.1, p.578
Grammar	Classifiers used with demonstratives	++	§3.1.2, p.577
Grammar	Adjectival verbs	+++	§3.2, p.582
Grammar	Grammatical number	++	§3.2.1, p.582
Grammar	Inflection of verbs	–	§3.2.1, p.582
Grammar	Use of tense/aspect markers	++	§3.2.1 & 3.2.2, p.582
Grammar	Use of verb plural markers	++	§3.2.1, p.582
Grammar	Grammaticalization of GET/OBTAIN (potential mod. resultative/perfect aspect)	+++	§3.2.3, p.586–89
Grammar	Grammaticalization of PUT, SET See the verb ‘keep, deposit’ (Burm <i>tʰā</i>)	+++	§3.2.3, p.587
Grammar	Grammaticalization of GIVE (causative, benefactive; preposition)	+++	§3.2.3, pp.586–89, §3.2.4, p.589
Grammar	Grammaticalization of FINISH (perfective/ complete aspect; conjunction/temporal subordinator)	+	§3.2.3, p.587

	Feature	+++/++/+/-	§ ref. in this chapter
Grammar	Grammaticalization of directional verbs e.g. GO / COME (allative, venitive)	+++	§3.2.2, p.584
Grammar	Grammaticalization of SEE, WATCH (temptative)	+	not discussed explicitly
Grammar	Grammaticalization of STAY, REMAIN (progressive <u>and</u> continuous, durative aspects)	+++	§3.2.2, p.588
Grammar	Serial verb constructions	+++	§3.2.2, p.588
Syntax	Verb precedes object (VO)	+++	§3.3, p.591
Syntax	Auxiliary precedes verb	++	§3.2, p.582–84
Syntax	Preposition preceds noun	+++	§3.1.5, p.582
Syntax	Noun precedes adjective	+++	§3.1, p.574
Syntax	Noun preceds demonstrative	+++	§3.1, p.574, §3.1.2, p.577
Syntax	Noun precedes genitive	+++	§3.1, p.574
Syntax	Noun precedes relative clause	+++	§3.1.4, p.580
Syntax	Use of topic-comment structures	+++	§3.3, p.591
Syntax	Ellipsis of arguments known from context	+++	§3.3, p.591
Lexical semantics	Specific terms for forms of rice	–	§4.2, p.598
Pragmatics	Use of utterance-final pragmatic particles	+++	§3.3.4, p.596 & §3.3.2, p.594
Pragmatics	Encoding of politeness	+++	§3.3.4, p.596
Pragmatics	Encoding of honorifics	+++	§4.1, p.597

Appendix 2: Text interlinearized

ตอนนั้น เขาว่าพณมเพลิงน่าจะเป็นเมรุสำหรับเผาศพของราชวงศ์ ส่วนไฉ่เตาข้างล่างเนี่ย น่าจะเป็นของไฉ่บรืวาร

tɔɔn nán khǎw wâa phanom-phlɔɯŋ nâa cə pen meen
 period MEDL 3HUM say Phanom-Phloeng ought PROS be funeral.pyre

sǎmràp phǎw sòp khǎw rāatchəwɔŋ. sùən ʔây taw khâaŋ lân
 for burn corpse POSS royal.family part REF oven side below

nǎo nǎa cə pen khǎwɔ̃ bwaŋi?waan.

PROX.EMPH ought PROS be POSS retinue

‘They say that back then Phanom Phloeng probably was the [place of the] funeral pyre where the bodies of the royal family were cremated. The kilns down here probably were [the places] of the servants.’

มีอยู่วันหนึ่งนะ วันหนึ่งยามที่อยู่ที่นั่นนะซะ เขาได้ยินเสียงคล้ายๆ กับคนตีระนาดนี่
เป็นดนตรีไทยนี่นะครับ

wan nuɛ̃ nǎ?, wan nuɛ̃ yaam thii yùu thii nân nǎ? há?

day one EMPH day one guard REL stay LOC MEDL EMPH HON

khǎw dâi.yin sǎw khláay-khláay kàp khon tii rənâat nǎo

3HUM hear sound similar-RED with man beat xylophone PROX.EMPH

pen dontrii thay nǐi nǎ? khráp.

be music Thai PROX EMPH HON

‘One day the guard who was [on duty] there heard a sound quite like someone playing the xylophone, it was [traditional] Thai music.’

เวลาประมาณตีสอง จะเป็นเฉพาะวันพระ วันอื่นจะไม่มี เวลาตีสองเขาจะเห็นแสงนะ
ลักษณะแบบเป็นเหมือนกับคล้ายๆ แสงที่ออกจากพลุยังงี้เนี่ย ออกจากกลางๆ ครับ
ออกจากเจดีย์บนเขา แต่ไม่รู้ออกจากองค์พระ หรือออกจากตรงไหน

weelaa prāmaan tii.sǎwɔ̃, cə pen chaphǎ? wan phrá?, wan

time exclusive about two.am PROS be day holy day

ʔuun cə mâi mii, weelaa tii.sǎwɔ̃ khǎw cə hěn sǎw nǎ?,

other PROS NEG have time two.am 3HUM PROS see light EMPH

lāksənà? bèep pen muǎn kàp khláay-khláay sǎw thii ʔǔw k càak

characteristics style be same with similar-RED light REL go.out from

phlú? yaŋɲii nǎo. ʔǔw k càak klaaŋ-klaaŋ khráp, ʔǔw k càak

fireworks like.this PROX.EMPH go.out from middle-RED HON go.out from

ceedii bon khǎw, tɛ̃ mâi rúu ʔǔw k càak ʔon phrá? ruun

pagoda on mountain but NEG know go.out from CL holy or

ʔǔw k càak tron nǎy.

go.out from straight where

‘At about 2 am, this happens only on Buddhist holy days, it does not happen on other days, at 2 am he would see a light, quite similar to the kind of light that

comes from fireworks, like this, coming out from the middle there, from the pagoda on the hill, but it is not known whether it comes out from the Buddha image or from what place exactly.'

แล้วทีนี้ เขาก็สงสัย เอ๊ะใครตีหรือไปจุดไฟตรงนั้น ก็ขึ้นไป ปรากฏว่ามันก็ไม่มีอะไร
léew thii nūi khǎw kô sǎw, ʔé? khray tii nuu pay
 FINISH time PROX 3HUM TCL suspect INTERJ who beat or go

cùt fay tron nán. kô khuin pay, praakòt wāa man kô mǎy
 light fire straight MEDL TCL go.up go appear SAY 3 TCL NEG

mii ʔaray.

have what

'And now he became suspicious, who is there playing [the xylophone] or lighting a fire? So he went up there, but it turned out that there was nothing.'

ทีนี้ วันรุ่งขึ้นอีกวันหนึ่ง มันเป็นกลางวัน เขาก็เห็นว่ามีคนมาเดินขึ้นไป ตัวใหญ่มาก แต่ทีนี้เนี่ย เดินๆ ไปแล้วหายตรงหลังเจดีย์

thii nūi, wan rún khuin ʔiik wan nuñ, man pen klaan
 time PROX day dawn go.up in.addition day one 3 be middle

wan, khǎw kô hǎn wāa mii khon maa dʔɔn khuin pay, tuə
 day 3HUM TCL see SAY have man come walk go.up go body

yàw mǎak, tɛɛ thii nūi nǎw, dʔɔn-dʔɔn pay léew hǎy
 big much but time PROX PROX.EMPH walk-RED go FINISH disappear

tron lǎn ceeɗi.

straight back pagoda

'Now, the next day, it was during the day, he saw a man walking up there, a very big man. But now, as he walked there, he disappeared behind the pagoda.'

เขาก็หากันอยู่เป็นครึ่งวันแล้ว ไอคนนั้นมันไปทำอะไรในเจดีย์ ไปจุดของหรืออะไรยังไง ปรากฏว่ามันก็ไม่มี

khǎw kô hǎa kan yùu pen khuin wan léew, ʔây khon nán
 3HUM TCL seek PL STAY be half day FINISH REF man MEDL

man pay tham ʔaray nay ceeɗi, pay khùt khǎw nuu ʔaray
 3 go do what in pagoda go dig thing or what

yanŋii? praakòt wâa man kô mây mii.
like.this appear SAY 3 TCL NEG have

‘They looked for him half a day, [asking] “what is that guy doing in the pagoda? Is he digging for [antique] stuff or something like this?” But it turned out that there was no one [to be found].’

ก็จู่ๆ มีคนมาจากกรุงเทพฯ เขานำของมาบงจรวง มีผู้ใหญ่เขาบอกว่ามีพระ
เขาฝันเห็นพระที่นั่นอะไรยังงี้
kô cùu-cùu mii khon maa càak kruŋ.thêep, khăw nam khăwŋ
TCL unexpected-RED have man come from Bangkok 3HUM lead thing

maa buəŋsǎŋ. mii phǎu yây khăw bǝk wâa mii phrá?
come make.offering have person big 3HUM tell say have holy

khăw fǎn hǎn phrá? thii nǐi ?əray yanŋii.

3HUM dream see holy LOC PROX what like.this

‘Then all of a sudden there were people coming from Bangkok, they brought things to make offerings. There was an important person, he said that there was a monk, that he had seen a monk here in his dreams or something like this.’

หลังจากนั้น เมื่อประมาณปี ๒๕๓๕ เท่าที่ผมจำได้นะครับ มีไกด์
เป็นไกด์ของบริษัทฝรั่งเศส มาอนนอนที่รีสอร์ท
lǎŋ càak nán, muə prəmaan pii sǝwŋ-phan-hâa-rǝwý-sǎam-sìp-
back from MEDL when about year two-thousand-five-hundred-three-ten-

hâa thǎw thii phǎm cam dǎy ná? khǎp, mii káy,
five as.much REL 1M remember GET EMPH HON have guide

pen káy khăwŋ bǝwŋ?sàt fə̀rə̀nsèet, maa nǝwŋ thii riisǝwŋ.
be guide POSS company French come sleep LOC resort
‘After that, in about 2535 [BE], as far as I remember, there was a tour guide, he was a tour guide of a French company, who came to stay at the resort.’

ก็มันนึกยังงใจไม่รู้อะไรตอนสองนะ มันให้เด็กที่ร้านไปเป็นเพื่อน
อยากจะไปหาพนมเพลิง

kô man nuik yanŋay mây rǐu prəmaan tii.sǝwŋ ná? man hǎy
TCL 3 think how NEG know about two.am EMPH 3 GIVE

dèk thii ráan pay pen phǎuəŋ, yàak cǎ pay khăw phə̀nom-
child LOC shop go be friend DES PROS go mountain Phanom-

phlɤɤ.

Phoeng

‘Then, I don’t know what came over him, about two o’clock that night, he asked an employee of the hotel to accompany him. He wanted to go to the Phanom Phloeng hill [he said].’

เขาบอกว่าจะฝังตัวเองมาอยู่ที่นี่ เขาขุดหลุมฝัง

khǎw bɔ̀ɔk wāa cə fǎŋ tuə ʔeen maa yùu thii nīi. khǎw
3HUM tell SAY PROS bury body self come stay LOC PROX 3HUM

khùt lǔm fǎŋ.

dig hole bury

‘He said he was going to bury himself and come to stay here. He started digging a hole to bury [himself].’

ที่นี้ยามไม่ให้ขุด ขุดที่นี้ไม่ได้ เขาบอกว่าอยากจะอยู่เขาพนมเพลิง

อยากรจะรับใช้เขาพนมเพลิง

thii nīi yaam mǎy hǎy khùt. khùt thii nīi mǎy dǎy.
time PROX guard NEG GIVE dig dig LOC PROX NEG GET

khǎw bɔ̀ɔk wāa cə yùu thii khǎw phanom-phlɤɤ, yàak cə
3HUM tell SAY PROS stay LOC mountain Phanom-Phloeng DES PROS

ráp chǎy khǎw phenom-phlɤɤ.

receive use mountain Phanom-Phloeng

‘He said he was going to stay at Phanom Phloeng hill, he wanted to serve the Phanom Phloeng hill.’

ก็คงจะก่อนหน้านั้นคงจะไปทำอะไรไม่ดีสักอย่างหนึ่ง

kô khon cə kòwn nǎa nán khon cə tham ʔaray mǎy dii
TCL PROB PROS before face MEDL PROB PROS do what NEG good

sák yàan.

just kind

‘It must have been at some time in the past, he must have done something bad [to the hill spirits].’